

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00  
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-10 L-03  
NSAE-00 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 ACDA-12 /093 W  
-----104826 141817Z /53

O P 141751Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4127  
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 04091

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK  
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: OWEN'S ADDRESS AT PILGRIMS DINNER

1. FOLLOWING IS AN EXTRACT FROM FOREIGN SECRETARY  
OWEN'S ADDRESS AT THE PILGRIM DINNER IN LONDON ON MARCH  
13. HE GAVE COPIES TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PATRIOTIC  
FRONT AS A STATEMENT OF THE US/UK INTENT ON AN ALL-  
PARTIES MEETING ON RHODESIA.

2. BEGIN TEXT: ON WEDNESDAY AT A MEETING WITH PRESI-  
DENT CARTER IN WASHINGTON BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES  
DECIDED TO ASK ALL THE PARTIES TO THE MALTA AND  
SALISBURY TALKS TO MEET WITH A VIEW TO WIDENING AREAS  
OF AGREEMENT AND ESTABLISHING AN ACCEPTABLE MACHINERY  
TO ACHIEVE COMMON OBJECTIVES. IT IS ALREADY COMMON  
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GROUND THAT:

- (1) ZIMBABWE SHOULD BECOME INDEPENDENT IN 1978;
  - (2) A GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE ELECTED BY UNIVERSAL  
ADULT SUFFRAGE AND
  - (3) ELECTIONS MUST BE HELD IN CONDITIONS THAT WILL  
PERMIT THEM TO BE CONDUCTED FREELY AND FAIRLY.
- THESE PRINCIPLES HAVE BEEN CONSISTENTLY ADVOCATED IN

THE ANGLO/US PROPOSALS WHICH REPRESENT A BALANCED,  
FAIR AND WORKABLE PACKAGE.

WE ARE NOT APPROACHING THIS MEETING OF ALL THE PARTIES,  
SEEING OUR ROLE AS MERELY ARBITRATING BETWEEN, ON THE  
ONE SIDE, THE STANCE AT MALTA OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT  
AND, ON THE OTHER, THE VIEWS OF THOSE WHO TOOK PART  
IN THE SALISBURY TALKS. IN THE PROCESS OF CONSULTA-  
TION LAST YEAR THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS  
WERE PREPARED TO PUT FORWARD CONCRETE PROPOSALS, PAR-  
TICULARLY IF IT WAS FOUND THAT THE PARTIES, FOR  
DIFFERING REASONS, COULD NOT ACCEPT WHAT WE BELIEVED  
TO BE FAIR AND REASONABLE. WE HAVE OUR OWN VIEWS AND  
PRINCIPLES AND WE ARE STRENGTHENED IN HOLDING THESE  
BY THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THE ANGLO/US PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN  
SUPPORTED BY THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
COMMUNITY.

WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO CONDEMN OUT OF HAND THE SALISBURY  
TALKS. AS PRESIDENT CARTER HAS POINTED OUT, WE HAVE  
NOT REJECTED THE INDIVIDUAL COMPONENT PARTS TO THE  
EXTENT THAT THEY ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE OVERALL ANGLO-  
AMERICAN PLAN AND, TO THAT EXTENT, BOTH PRESIDENT  
CARTER AND I HAVE SAID THAT THEY ARE A STEP IN THE  
RIGHT DIRECTION. BUT EQUALLY WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO  
SUPPORT THE SALISBURY PROPOSALS WHICH WE BELIEVE ARE  
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INADEQUATE AND SERIOUSLY DEFECTIVE PARTICULARLY IN THE  
AREAS TO WHICH WE ATTACH MAJOR IMPORTANCE, NAMELY THE  
REALITY OF THE TRANSFER OF POWER AND LAW AND ORDER.  
IT IS THIS ISSUE ABOVE ALL WHICH HAS BEDEVILLED AGREE-  
MENT. THIS IS NOT ALTOGETHER SURPRISING. FAIR AND  
FREE ELECTIONS ARE SOMETHING TO WHICH WE AND ALL THE  
PARTIES ARE COMMITTED. THE PARTICIPANTS TO AN ELEC-  
TION IN ANY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD IN WHICH DEMOCRACY  
FLOURISHES WISH TO BE CERTAIN THAT THE CLIMATE IN  
WHICH ELECTIONS ARE HELD IS ONE IN WHICH THERE CAN BE  
NO INTERFERENCE, EITHER DURING OR AFTER THE ELECTION,  
WITH THE FREE EXPRESSION OF THE ELECTORATES' WILL.  
IN AFRICA, AS IN SOME OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, POWER  
IS SEEN TO LIE WITH THOSE WHO CONTROL THE FORCES OF  
LAW AND ORDER AND WE MUST UNDERSTAND THIS BASIC FEAR  
AND ANXIETY WHICH IS GENUINELY HELD, THOUGH FOR DIFFER-  
ING REASONS, BY ALL THE PARTIES. ON THE ONE HAND,  
THERE IS THE FEAR OF THOSE OUTSIDE RHODESIA THAT THE  
EXISTING LAW AND ORDER STRUCTURE WILL BE MAINTAINED  
AND USED TO PREVENT THEM FROM COMPETING ON EQUAL TERMS  
WITH THEIR RIVALS IN ANY ELECTION CAMPAIGN. ON THE  
OTHER HAND, THERE IS THE FEAR OF THOSE NOW INSIDE

RHODESIA THAT THE ARMED STRENGTH OF THE LIBERATION  
FIGHTERS WILL BE USED TO IMPOSE THEMSELVES AT THE  
BALLOT BOX.

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-----104762 141817Z /53

O P 141751Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4128  
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY  
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BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES, IN CALLING FOR FURTHER  
DISCUSSION, ARE FACING THE REALITY THAT A NEGOTIATED  
SETTLEMENT CANNOT BE IMPOSED. IT HAS FIRST TO BE  
AGREED. THE ALTERNATIVE TO FURTHER DISCUSSION IS  
ARMED CONFLICT WITH EVENTUAL POWER GOING TO THE  
VICTORIOUS BUT THEY WILL TAKE OVER A BROKEN ZIMBABWE  
SMOULDERING WITH RESENTMENT AND BITTERNESS AND THE  
TASTE OF VICTORY WILL BE BITTER. WE ALL HAVE OUR OWN  
PREFERENCE, AND WE ALL THINK OURS IS THE IDEAL SOLUTION,  
BUT I BELIEVE THAT ALL OF US MUST NOW BE PREPARED IN  
THE INTERESTS OF REACHING AN AGREEMENT TO ENTER INTO  
SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS. WE ARE THEREFORE ASKING EVERYONE  
IN THE INTEREST OF ZIMBABWE TO COME TOGETHER, EVEN

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AT THIS LATE HOUR, TO SEE IF WE CAN NEGOTIATE A  
SETTLEMENT. NO ONE NEED COME TO THIS MEETING CONCEDING  
IN ADVANCE ANY OF THEIR PREVIOUS POSITIONS. ATTENDANCE  
AT THE DISCUSSIONS CARRIES NO RECOGNITION IN ANY WAY  
WHATEVER. IT CONFERS NO LEGALITY ON WHAT IS AND RE-  
MAINS ILLEGAL. ALL WE ASK IS THE READINESS TO TRY TO  
PUT THE FUTURE OF ZIMBABWE FIRST, FOR US ALL TO BE  
PREPARED TO EXAMINE THE ISSUES OBJECTIVELY IN A  
GENUINE SEARCH FOR PEACE. UNLESS WE DO SO THERE  
IS ONLY ONE ALTERNATIVE, THE CONTINUATION OF A BLOODY  
WAR. END TEXT

BREWSTER

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
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**Disposition Comment:**  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**TAGS:** PDEV, RH, UK, (OWEN, DAVID)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014